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THE GOLDEN SPEECH; A LOOK AT THE LEGACY OF THE LAST SPEECH BY QUEEN ELIZABETH I TO PARLIAMENT

By

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A Thesis submitted to the
Department of English
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requirements for the degree
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To My Parents

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ABSTRACT

For my project, I have taken Queen Elizabeth I's last speech to Parliament in November 1601, the Golden Speech, and looked at every time it was printed under King James I, King Charles I, the Interregnum, and King Charles II. The first chapter explores the rhetorical techniques Elizabeth employed. The second chapter examines the historical context surrounding each time the speech was reprinted in 1628, 1642, 1647, 1659, and 1679. The final chapter compares the paratexts of each edition with the printing trends and technologies available at that particular time.

My research is beneficial to two areas of study. First, to early modern scholarship: with new technology, we are able to learn more and more about this period. The Renaissance owns many brilliant writers and thinkers. Projects like mine let us rediscover genius in a new fashion: through a printer's brain, or through a later generation's reception. For example, how do Elizabeth's strong words of leadership help us better understand the leadership in the century following her death? Printers have the power to change interpretations.

Secondly, in the plight for women's recognition: in many ways, we have tokenized Elizabeth, exploring her rhetoric as maternal or virginal, lauding her ability to use her gender as a means of power. When all is said and done, she was a good leader, woman or not. If we can study her and her legacy and influence outside of her gender, we might do more for feminism than to constantly recognize her gender along with her power.

INTRODUCTION

Their once-great Queen passed away silently in the early morning of March 24th, 1603, and the English were hopeful for the leadership of King James I. What had been a golden era was now faced with "rising prices, costly wars, continuing troubles in Ireland, trade depression as well as poor harvests" (Hibbert 261). Elizabeth left a polarized populace that, under an arguably sub-par seventeenth-century leadership, gradually bonded in their nostalgia for her. A few years into the reign of King James I, Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, wrote, "Then was her memory much magnified: such ringing of bells, such public joy and sermons in commemoration of her, the picture of her tomb painted in many churches, and in effect more solemnity and joy in memory of her coronation than ever was for the coming-in of King James" (quoted in Hibbert 262). Elizabeth's legacy is unquestioned now; it seems every few months we are treated to romanticized blockbusters, self-important independent films, and fictionalized novels: all devoted to her. This thesis narrows the scope to focus on one part of the remarkable story of her reception, her last speech to Parliament, posthumously entitled "The Golden Speech," and its legacy. Primarily, it is an extremely effective speech because of its complex use of imagery, self-deprecation, emotional appeals, and manipulation. Second, it is very often reprinted, and this thesis studies the reprints in the seventeenth century in terms of their variations and their changing contexts. Third, the speech is interesting for what its varying reprints can tell us about the long history of early modern printing. I chose the Golden Speech because it was the one speech that Elizabeth most tried to control her own legacy, and unbeknownst to her, it was the last opportunity she had to do so. I will assess how well she achieved this, and how seventeenth-century printers and readers responded.

Until very recently, there have been surprising gaps in the literary scholarship on Queen Elizabeth's works. Historians actually study Elizabeth's works only for matters of political policy and "literary scholars…focus on specific poems, letters, and speeches of widely acknowledged eloquence and force, in order to analyze the strategic gendering of Elizabeth's self-representation and the ways in which her subjects received and accommodated their powerful queen" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, eds. *xi*). In the last

twenty-five years, however, feminism and gender studies have taken as a central project the recovery, editing, and publication in modern editions of previously uncanonized works by women authors. Leah Marcus, the now-preeminent scholar on Elizabeth's works, laments, "In the past, Elizabeth's reputation as a writer suffered both because of her gender and because her work did not seem to measure up to an idealized aesthetics of timeless literary greatness" (*xii*). Thus Marcus, along with Janel Mueller and Mary Beth Rose, compiled every single speech, letter, and poem written by Elizabeth, in multiple different versions, in print or manuscript form, during her life.

Their project, *Elizabeth I; Collected Works*, while ambitious and superb, admits it is not comprehensive. In modernizing and anthologizing, the trio of editors altered spellings, omitted "routine and formulaic" letters, and narrowed the scope to Elizabeth's lifetime (*xv*). While they often identify which version continues to be printed in later years, they stop short of tracing, comparing, and analyzing variant versions. In this plethora of Elizabeth's works, Marcus, Mueller, and Rose still leave room for future scholars to supply further details, such as: when, where, and for what reason Elizabeth's words would be needed again and what imagery and sentiments were essential for the new contexts. My present study cannot answer all such questions, but I can propose an account of one speech's effectiveness across the seventeenth century with the goal of comparing printers and their paratextual variations.

THE GOLDEN SPEECH: INITIAL CONTEXTS AND LATER VERSIONS

On November 30, 1601, Elizabeth delivered what would turn out to be her last speech to Parliament. She needed money to repel a Spanish invasion in Ireland, and Parliament wanted her help in rescinding a long list of monopolies. She complied and then asked the Lower House to meet with her the following Monday to thank them. Elizabeth's speech at the occasion posthumously became known as the Golden Speech. Citing the sentimental representation of her in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, J.E. Neale imagines Elizabeth delivering what no one present in Parliament knew would be her last great speech: "A treasured memory it must have been for those seven or eight score

gentlemen, who were soon to have another sovereign and look back nostalgically to the spacious days of Gloriana" (*Elizabeth* 393).

The court released an official version of the Golden Speech, and Robert Barker published it with the royal arms on the title page in the days immediately following. That particular copy has been deemed a mere summary of Elizabeth's words and was most likely the reason for the subsequent published versions from Hayward Townshend's Commons journal and Sir Thomas Egerton's papers (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, eds. 335-340). Marcus confirms that all published versions of the speech differ in wording, but it is these "three distinct early versions [that] each…became a prototype for further copies later on" (336). These first three versions—that of Barker, Townshend, and Egerton—make it clear that from the very start, there is no one stable text of this oral utterance, and that memory and individual perspectives will play a shaping role, even in the texts believed to be closest to the actual event.

Some scholars have further complicated the issue. Steven May believes that there were originally four versions of the Golden Speech with the official court publication being number two.[1] The first version is Harley manuscript 787; "shortly after [giving the speech] she sent [this] text of her remarks to Henry Savile, provost of Eton College…with a command that he neither copy the speech nor share it with anyone" (May 90). David Harris Sacks argues that this manuscript version was later found in "a collection of papers belonging to William Dell, apparently found on his desk while he was secretary to Archbishop Laud" (277). While mine is a study of printed copies, this manuscript also matters in studying Elizabeth's intent and comparing it to a printer's alterations. Unfortunately, I cannot find a digitized version of the manuscript.

Beyond the manuscript and the official version Barker provided, a third paper version was found among Egerton's papers[2] and a fourth version, the most complete, is from Townshend's journal. It is Egerton's version that is largely reprinted throughout the seventeenth century with the first in 1628 and is the focus of my study. According to Steven May, Egerton's version is trumped in popularity by the first publication of

[1] *STC* 7578

[2] *STC* 7579.

Townshend's journal in 1680 under the title *Historical Collections: Or an Exact Account of the Proceedings of the Four Last Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth* (92). Townshend kept the journal from 1597 to 1601; the manuscript version is kept at Oxford University.[3] J.E. Neale considers Townshend's authorship of *Historical Collections* suspect; of the eight journals included in the collection, six are remarkably similar to D'Ewes' *Journals*. Fortunately, Townshend's journal for 1601 is not one of those (Neale "Authorship" 96-99).

Townshend's version runs a third longer than Egerton's, and unlike Barker's and Egerton's, is not just a recording of the speech. Townshend's journal adds description such as, "we all stood up and she went on in her speech," and she spoke "with great emphasis" (May 91). It is filled with impressions and personal observations that a mere transcript of the speech would not have, including the queen's gestures, reactions of members, and the words of speaker Sir John Croke. Townshend begins:

> 30 November, Monday…In the afternoon the Commons attended the queen at Whitehall about three of the clock to the number of seven-score. At length the queen came into the Council Chamber, where sitting under the cloth of estate at the upper end, the speaker with all the Commons came in and after three low reverences made, he spake to this effect…"
>
> (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, eds. 335-336)

It seems reasonable that Townshend's account is one person's personal perspective on the event, and as such, it has a status different from the other versions of the speech that have come down to us. It will prove helpful in analyzing the reception of Elizabeth's speech. That being said, it is Barker's and Egerton's versions that I will examine further. Sir Thomas Egerton was "privy councilor, lord keeper of the Great Seal, and Master of the Rolls from 1596 until the end" of Elizabeth's reign (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, eds. 340). The original manuscript[4] of the speech, though found among his papers, is not in

[3] Townshend's original journal is located at Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Rawlinson A 100 fols. 97v-101r .

[4] Huntington Library, MS EL 2571

Egerton's handwriting. Nonetheless, it is certainly his transcript that is repeated in the seventeenth-century printings.

To describe fully the complicated textual situation of the Golden Speech would be far beyond my scope, but for our purposes a useful summary is: (1) Manuscript (2) Barker's official version (3) Egerton's papers (4) Townshend's journal. It is Barker's, Egerton's, and all post-text variations of Egerton's version that this study seeks to contextualize and understand.

A SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS IN THIS STUDY

In the Golden Speech, Elizabeth quickly dismisses the financial cause of the occasion—rescinded monopolies and fundraising—in the first line of the speech. Yet, she continually returns to economic imagery when thanking and appreciating Parliament, her subjects, and even God. This could show the prevailing nature of England's economic landscape. Or perhaps it reflects Elizabeth's anxiety about necessary funds. Her rhetorical prowess convinces me that this is an example of concealed fundraising; it is a continual, yet subliminal quest for more money from Parliament. I have devoted the first chapter to this financial imagery, and to Elizabeth's appeals to pathos and her self-deprecation.

Early modern scholarship has, of late, transferred some attention from writers onto printers: the conduits for readership. A printer's actions and additions often provide more of a contextual history than the writing itself, and for those who printed the Golden Speech in the seventeenth century, nostalgia was paramount, as well as providing a contrast to what contemporaries may have regarded as the less competent leadership at the time. In chapter 2, the context of each printed copy will be studied. I will examine the 1628 version, printed three years into the reign of King Charles I, and the 1642 version, printed at the beginning of the First Civil War. I will discuss the 1647 version, printed by the official printer for Parliament. The 1659 version was printed in the last year of the Interregnum and lastly, the 1679 version during the reign of King Charles II. The speech continues to be printed intermittently---1680, 1690's, 1740, 1745, 1749 and

so on---but the focus of this paper is the first three Stuart rulers in England: King James I, King Charles I, and King Charles II.

Once the contexts are established, in chapter 3 I will explore the paratexts of all printed versions, assuming that nothing is without intention and reason, also assuming that small changes may have large effects. For instance, I will try to explain why printers would add a preface or a picture, or change the format from quarto to broadside to folio. Not only will this speech be a sample for displaying printers' agendas, but also a timeline of the improving text technology in a crucial period of early print culture.

****

After hearing Elizabeth's speech, a Parliament member said, "it was worthy to be written in gold: they and their sons and posterity for several generations were to know the speech which she now made, as Queen Elizabeth's 'Golden Speech'" (Neale *Queen* 400). The name held. To those fortunate enough to be in the audience and those who read the transcript in the following century, this speech represented a kind and decent monarch. But at its origination, Elizabeth was in her late 60s. Her health soon declined, and though she still seemed healthy during the winter of 1602, by March, she was feverish and could not sleep. Neale writes that Elizabeth's relative Sir Robert Carey approached her bedside, and she exclaimed, "'I am not well,' and fetched forty or fifty great sighs, declaring that her heart was sad and heavy. He tried to dissipate her melancholy: it was too deep-rooted" (*Queen* 407). She conceded the crown to her cousin Mary's son, King James VI of Scotland, and on March 24th, 1603, she "turned her face to the wall, sank into a stupor, and between the hours of two and three in the morning…passed quietly away, 'as the most resplendent sun setteth at last in a western cloud'" (Neale *Queen* 408).

The Golden Speech has always been appreciated: "[Elizabeth's] repeated assurances of love for her subjects, care for their welfare, devotion to God, and commitment to impartial justice were just what the occasion called for" (Stump 502). But I propose that the speech offers more than this; it answers many occasions in the seventeenth century. Elizabeth, and the printers who appreciated her rhetorical talent, left a legacy, one to be explored in the following pages.

Table 1. Printed Editions of the Golden Speech Examined in this Study

Date	**Printer**	**Printer's Alterations**	**Historical Context**
1601	Robert Barker		Two Days After Speech's Delivery
1628	Unknown	Preface	Three Years into reign of King Charles I
1642	Unknown	Copperplate Engraving	First Year of First Civil War
1647	Edward Husband	Woodcuts	Middle of Second Civil War
1659	Thomas Milbourn	Broadside format	Last Year of the Interregnum
1679	Unknown	Folio format	During Popish Plots Against Charles II

CHAPTER 1:

PATHOS AND PARLIAMENT; HOW ELIZABETH EARNED HER EMPATHY

The Golden Speech is often regarded as one of Queen Elizabeth's most admired speeches. At the time, "Elizabeth enjoyed a level of love and reverence among her subjects that few English monarchs had ever attained" (Stump and Felch, Eds. 502). And her speeches to Parliament solidified that reputation; J.E. Neale writes, "she had come to regard these parliamentary occasions—great actress that she was—as the supreme opportunity of projecting upon the nation, through its assembled deputies, her personality and affection, her discipline, her will and unrivalled gifts of leadership" (quoted in Heisch 31). I take on Allison Heisch's characterization of Elizabeth's rhetorical style here. Heisch claims that Elizabeth did not always have confidence in her speaking: in the beginning, often hiding behind her sex or behind her divine right to rule. By the time she delivered the Golden Speech, these excuses of femininity and religion had become tools she capably used for maintaining power. Janet M. Green writes that Elizabeth was, "accomplished in the two chief contemporary English styles: one complex, often ambiguous, almost euphuistic; and one simple and direct" (422). Heisch splits these rhetorical styles into a chronology: in the beginning Elizabeth "relied heavily on adorned prose…a technique of evasion," and as she acquired confidence and skill in later years, she "kept oratorical artifice to a minimum" (Heisch 33,40). The Golden Speech shows her rhetorical growth.

On November 30, 1601, Elizabeth dazzled Parliament with her deep appreciation, self-deprecation, effective imagery, yet somewhat concealed agenda. In appreciating the speech's effectiveness, I noticed how frequently she uses economic imagery to express gratitude. While proclaiming the insignificance of money, she constantly brings it to listeners' attention, almost as if on a covert mission to acquire more wealth from Parliament.

In the Harley manuscript 787 of the Golden Speech, the writer, a Parliament member, apologizes to his readers: "Many things through want of memory I have

omitted, without setting down many of her majesty's gestures of honor and princely demeanor used by her" (Marcus 34).[5] The original version of Elizabeth's speech is the one she delivered orally—sadly unrecoverable. Elizabeth's speeches, especially those before Parliament, "usually began their lives not as written documents but as the queen's oral utterances, written down only after the fact by the queen's auditors rather than the queen herself, and sometimes then revised by Elizabeth and her ministers jointly for broader distribution (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. *xiii*). Elizabeth was notoriously fiery in her delivery of speeches, and the court subsequently released a censored print version, or "a pale, obscure reflection, an imperfect copy, of the utterance" (Marcus 34). Marcus explains, "Sixteenth-century English culture—even learned culture—had not quite adjusted to the idea that writing could constitute a primary mode of communication" (34).

In creating the speech, Elizabeth most likely used the method of rhetorical loci, a popular sixteenth-century technique for memory, to organize and memorize her thoughts (Marcus 37). In her delivery, Elizabeth would order those ideas as the event or audience deemed appropriate. Marcus calls this an oral *prototypon*. Only after the speech, Elizabeth "could run through the loci again to produce the speech in written form, which might differ significantly from the speech as uttered" (Marcus 37). This helps to explain the discrepancies between printed variations discussed in the Introduction and again in this chapter. The different perspectives of the people involved in this production of the speech also necessarily alter the prototypon. My thesis takes these facts of textuality as a given.

When Parliament and Elizabeth met in 1601, the occasion was unique. England's "population of 2.98 million in 1561 had grown to over 4 million by 1601," and swelling suburban areas demanded increased production from the larger cities (Wrightson 159). Under Elizabeth's reign, both agricultural and industrial production had expanded and diversified, especially woolen textiles like the 'New Draperies' (Wrightson 166). Iron production and coal mining increased dramatically. By the end of the century, there was silk-weaving and glass-making; gradually England manufactured starch, soap, and paper, rather than importing it (Wrightson 167). However, "each of these … initiatives involved the establishment of a chartered trading company to which the crown granted monopoly

[5] The modernizations of the text are by Marcus.

rights" (Wrightson 178). Even items such as salt and glass bottles were taxed by those granted a monopoly; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, "enjoyed a monopoly to tax sweet wines" (Stump and Felch, Eds. 502). Inevitably, tensions and resentment surrounded these monopolies.

At the same time, there was a rebellion in Northern Ireland led by Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone; "Tyrone attempted to join forces with a contingent of Spanish soldiers sent to aid him" (Stump and Felch, Eds. 487). Elizabeth needed financial backing to repel the Spanish invasion. After some considerable negotiations, Parliament agreed to grant her the money if she rescinded the monopolies, and she invited them to Whitehall to properly thank them.

Though I use the description from Hayward Townshend's journals,[6] modernized by Marcus in *Elizabeth I; Collected Works*, to set the scene, I will use Sir Thomas Egerton's version, again modernized in the same anthology, for the critical reading. According to Townshend, the speaker Sir John Croke began:

> Most sacred and more than most gracious sovereign, we your faithful, loyal, and obedient subjects and Commons here present, vouchsafed of your special goodness to our unspeakable comfort, access to your sacred presence, do in all duty and humbleness come to present that which no words can express: our most humble and thankful acknowledgment of your most gracious message, and most bounden and humble thanks for your majesty's most abundant goodness extended and performed to us
>
> (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 336)

Croke does not have Elizabeth's skill for variation in diction; he repeats "gracious," "goodness," "present," and "humble" more than once in his opening sentence, and many more times later. He ends with a promise of loyalty to the death, using bodily imagery, "we present our most loyal and thankful hearts, even the last drop of blood in our hearts and the last spirit of breath in our nostrils to be poured out to be breathed up for your

[6] Originally Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Rawlinson A 100, fols. 97v-101r.

safety" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 337). He then makes "three low reverences," and leads the rest of Parliament in kneeling down (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 337).

In the first line of the speech, as conveyed by the Egerton papers, Elizabeth dismisses the reason for the occasion, or the "treasures or riches (for that we know to prize)" from Parliament (Marcus 340). Instead, she appreciates Parliament's "present" of "loyalty, love, and thanks" (Marcus 340). The word "love" is included in each of the first three sentences, either in reference to the emotion or her subjects ("your loves"), implying that her relationship to her subjects is an emotional bond rather than a duty or a financial contract. Heisch contends that Elizabeth "was well aware that displays of magnanimity were vastly more effective than threats" (39).

She deflects their appreciation of her power onto God's power:

> This makes I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a queen, as to be a queen over so thankful a people, and to be the mean under God to conserve you in safety and preserve you from danger—yea, to be the instrument to deliver you from dishonor, from shame, from infamy, from out of servitude and slavery under our enemies, to keep you from cruel tyranny and vile oppression intended against us
>
> (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341)

This deflection is especially effective because it seems modest and self-deprecating while still creating the assumption that God is on her side, that her royal power is divine and/or divinely ordained. In fact, with her knowledge of the Bible, "it is often hard to distinguish [Elizabeth's] original words from these sources" (Green 424). Also in the above line, she overwhelms listeners with a list of all the potential evil in the world, heightening her listeners' gratitude. She then thanks them for their "intended helps," not because it is money, but because "it manifesteth your loves and largeness of hearts upon your sovereign" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). I will return to this point of "their loves" as manifested in monetary images.

Elizabeth then begins a list of what she is not: "greedy, scraper grasper, nor a strait fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster; my heart was never set on any wordly goods" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). She anticipates criticism of herself as greedy and bluntly dismisses it in advance. She promises that whatever is bestowed upon her will be

bestowed back upon them; “And your eyes shall see the bestowing of all for your good” (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). This promise creates a circulation of wealth between monarch and subject.

She requests Parliament to stand up, “for I shall yet trouble you with longer speech” (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341*).* She claims, “you give me thanks, but I am to thank you,” with the near-chiasmus that she enjoys using (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). Her use of chiasmus, too, reinforces the idea or circulation or reciprocity between monarch and subjects. She then once again anticipates dissenters, declaring she was not aware of misfortunes related to the granted monopolies: “For had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lapse of an error, only for lack of true information. For since I was a queen, yet did I never put pen to any grant but upon pretext and semblance made to me that it was for the good and avail of my subjects generally” (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). And in defending herself, she adds, “though a private profit to some of my ancient servants who had deserved well” (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). She pleads ignorance, deflecting blame onto others: “And when I heard it, I could give no rest unto my thoughts until I reformed it. And those varlets, lewd persons, abusers of my bounty, shall know I will not suffer it” (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). She appreciates that Parliament relayed the message of these unjust monopolies, even those who were not negatively impacted, but cared only for “our honor and our subjects’ love unto us” (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). In a backhanded way, she is condemning members who were angry for their own lack of personal gain from monopolies.

She once again dismisses materialism: “For above all earthly treasure, I esteem my people’s love, more than which I desire not to merit” (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). She considers herself a martyr, supplying a list of her troubles: “Yet what dangers, what practices, what perils I have passed!” (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). Yet, in the end, she is treated the same as everyone else: “And in governing, this I have ever had the grace to use—to set the Last Judgment Day before mine eyes and so to rule as I shall be judged, and to answer before a higher Judge, to whose judgment seat I do appeal that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people’s good” (Marcus,

Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). She returns time after time to focus on "[her] people's good" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341).

From here, Elizabeth seems to appropriate the male gender as her own. She refers to her "kingly bounty," and then presumes to *be* the king: "To be a king and wear a crown is a thing more glorious to them that see it than it is pleasant to them that bear it" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 342). This is a far cry from her first speeches to Parliament where she "hid behind her own skirts and pointed to heaven" (Heisch 34). It also supports Mary Beth Rose's challenge of the feminine rhetoric associated with Elizabeth. There are in fact no references to the virginal or maternal in the Golden Speech. I argue that Elizabeth seems to own no gender. She is an instrument of God, above mere men or women. She claims, "For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a king or royal authority of a queen as delighted that God had made me His instrument to maintain His truth and glory, and to defend his kingdom from dishonor, damage, tyranny, and oppression" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 342). In this genderless state, she can freely appropriate masculine discourses of war and aggression.

In the next line, she again dismisses gender for her higher calling: "But should I ascribe anything of this to myself, or my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live, and of all, most unworthy of the mercies I have had from God" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 342). She continues with religious rhetoric, "But to God only and wholly, all is to be given and ascribed" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 342). Heisch identifies how Elizabeth's treatment of God has changed: "Divine Right, to which she frequently alluded in the first handful of years, became in easier days a gracious explanation for her success, and in her last years, almost irrelevant—something accepted rather than insisted upon" (33). Elizabeth is no longer defensive; her right to rule is unquestioned. Yet, despite her power, she can present herself as having no individual desires or motives since she is purely God's instrument. If it is not for God, it is for her subjects, and vice versa. Rarely does she present herself as anything more than an agent of others' wills.

She then compares "the cares and troubles of a crown" to a physician's "bitter pills gilded over," as if to say that a leader makes "acceptable or less offensive which indeed is bitter and unpleasant to take" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 342).

Townshend, however, recorded in his journal[7]: "But I perceive they dealt with me like physicians who, ministering a drug, make it more acceptable by giving it a good aromatical savor; or when they give pills, do gild them all over" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 339). She granted the monopolies because of others' false persuasion. The edition of 1601[8] alters this simile once again: "For our part we vow unto you that we suppose physicians' aromatical savors, which in the top of their position they deceive the patient with, or gilded drugs that they cover their bitter sweet with, are not more beguilers of senses than the vaunting boast of a kingly name may deceive the ignorant of such an office" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 344). This version once again returns to the theme of protection as in Egerton's edition, whereas Townshend's recording makes Elizabeth sound more defensive. The official version also includes deceitful leaders as something else from which to be protected. I am inclined to believe Elizabeth emphasizes her role as protector more than providing another excuse granting monopolies. Steven May, who believes that Townshend's version is the most accurate, explains, "It is an apt comparison" between "the suitors who urged her to grant the monopolies" and "physicians who coat drugs" (91). Although the logic of this simile is more appealing, that does not necessarily mean these were Elizabeth's words.

Elizabeth returns to the theme of her martyrdom: "were it not for conscience' sake to discharge the duty which God hath laid upon me, and to maintain His glory and keep you in safety, in mine own disposition, I should willingly resign the place I hold to any other, and glad to be free of the glory with the labors" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 342). The simplicity of her statement: with power comes responsibility and she would relinquish both if any other could do her job. She once again appropriates the male gender as her own: "And though you have had and may have mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never had nor shall have any that will love you better" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, eds. 342). In declaring her love, she presents herself as just another (male) Prince.[9]

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[7] MS Rawlinson A 100, fols. 97v-101r

[8] STC 7578

[9] Though "prince" was often used at the time to mean a monarch of any gender.

Elizabeth concludes with a repetition of her gratitude and a request: "Thus, Mr. Speaker, I commend me to your loyal love, and you to my best care and your further counsels. And I pray you, Mr. Comptroller and you of my Councils, that before these gentlemen depart into their countries, you bring them all to kiss my hand" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 342). Her message is reverent, and she requests the physical gesture of reverential affection from them. This kissing of the hand is also a courtly gesture from man to woman. It seems she acknowledges gender at her discretion.

Underlying her appreciation, Elizabeth maintains a baseline of economic and mercantile imagery. That financial language would seep into her speech is not surprising. Keith Wrightman explains that while "the national income of England and Wales more than doubled in real terms between 1566 and 1641…prices continued to rise, real wages fell, and the period echoed to complaints of poverty and distress" (181). Money followed colonialists across the Atlantic Ocean to North America in the early seventeenth century. Two famines devastated England in 1598 and 1602 (Rich 9). And then there came the Spanish invasion in Ireland.

Her language of gratitude is immersed in economic terms. A quick scan of the speech reveals numerous financial imagery: "treasure," "riches," "prize," "invaluable," "conserve," "goods" (in several instances), "bestow," "hoard," "bounty," "waster," "helps," "greedy," and "properties." She uses them in denying herself as greedy or wasteful. And again, in her appreciation, "My heart was never set on any worldly goods, but only for my subjects' goods" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). And just when she seems to have changed topics, she swears, "For above all earthly treasure, I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). When read over and over again, her bristling against such accusations, to such an extent, seems to imply guilt. But this speech was delivered one time—and orally. Her listeners would not have been as aware of the repetition. She constantly reminds members of Parliament of her anti-materialistic ideals, while also bringing the money at stake back into their thoughts. While her words do not overtly fundraise, her imagery and rhetorical style do.

For any outright mention of receiving money, she denies any personal gain, claiming: "What you do bestow on me I will not hoard it up, but receive it to bestow on

you again" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). This implies a philosophy of 'what's mine is yours.' Giving to the monarch is thus helping the subject. She continues, "And God that gave me here to sit, and set me over you, knows that I never respected myself, but as your good was concerned in me" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). "Your good" that she is concerned with is certainly the people's goodwill, but it also refers to the 'goods' or money that her subjects entrust to her. Similar to "goods," she accepts "helps," stating, "we take very acceptably your intended helps, chiefly in that it manifesteth your loves and largeness of hearts unto your sovereign" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, Eds. 341). Admittedly, reading an ulterior motive into Elizabeth's words diminishes her glory; does she care about the "largeness of hearts" or coin purses? If "hearts" is indeed euphemistic, money is "chiefly" the way to please this sovereign.

Elizabeth masterfully earns the empathy of Parliament, glorifying their role. She earns trust by her self-deprecation; she is just a humble agent of others' wills. Yet, she uses ambiguous terms like "goods" and "helps," words that have a material, social, interpersonal, or even an emotional dimension. She dismisses money frequently, nonetheless bringing it to the forefront of listeners' minds. Elizabeth surreptitiously suggests that monetary imagery, or perhaps just money, is the way to express gratitude. She combined all of these rhetorical tools to create an image of herself, rather than leave her reputation at the mercy of others. That image of modesty and gratitude persisted through the seventeenth century. It can only be speculated that seventeenth-century printers recognized the financial benefits of the Golden Speech.

CHAPTER 2:

UNDERSTANDING HISTORICAL CONTEXTS THROUGH THE DECISIONS MADE BY PRINTERS OF THE GOLDEN SPEECH

With the rhetorical virtues of the Golden Speech in mind, we can now examine the years after Elizabeth's death. Rather than holding a magnifying glass to the Golden Speech, we will turn it around, showing how the speech connects in interesting ways to the general climate of the times. This chapter assumes that each printer of the Golden Speech had an agenda: a profit motive, of course, but perhaps certain political aims as well. They seem to have used the speech as a statement that would contrast a prior age, nostalgically recalled as peaceful and plentiful, with their current ages of political strife and economic crisis. This chapter will briefly sketch the main relevant points of historical context for each year in which the Golden Speech was printed during the long seventeenth century: 1628, 1642, 1647, 1659, and 1679.

The first thing to notice in this list of dates is a telling absence; no Golden Speech was printed during the reign of King James I. His relationships to the people and to Parliament were very different than those established by Elizabeth, and a speech like the Golden Speech shows how well those relationships worked under Elizabeth. I can only speculate that James preferred to not have his people reminded of Elizabeth's success. In 1607, Venice's English Ambassador Nicolo Molin wrote of James, "He does not caress the people nor make them that good cheer the late Queen did… The result is he is despised and almost hated" (Walker 22).

A printed Golden Speech could have reminded the people of how a monarch can capably handle money, and James needed to earn that trust. In 1610, he attempted to use the Great Contract that traded money for the abolishment of feudal tenures and wardships to make money for himself (Walker 9). It is comparable to Elizabeth trading rescinded monopolies for money, but an important difference that anyone reading the Golden Speech would have noticed is that Elizabeth entered into her trade "deal" with Parliament without personal gain. The Great Contract was a debacle. Since the Golden Speech was

not printed, it was not used to expose James' ill management of money by contrasting it with Elizabeth's success, but it could easily have served such a function if it had been printed. This does not explain why the speech was not printed, and such explanations are counterfactual in any case. But it would have made an interesting contrast, and it was not long before printers would take up the Speech again, after the reign of James.

Perhaps James could have used Elizabeth's speech to breed goodwill towards the monarchy, or to remind the people of a happier relationship between monarch and subjects. But to James, Elizabeth was the woman who murdered his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots. When it came time for King James to memorialize the former queen in Westminster Abbey, he placed her body "isolated in the dark north aisle of that chapel, her body lying on top of her Catholic half-sister Mary, to whom she erected no monument during her reign" (Walker 15). His mother's (larger) tomb lies in line with the tomb of Henry VII's wife Margaret Beaufort, suggesting her legitimacy rather than Elizabeth's. Not surprisingly, James did not choose to pick up the Golden Speech and promulgate it as part of his memorializing or entombment effort.

In 1628, the year of the Golden Speech's first of many resurrections, King James had been dead for three years. His son Charles allowed James' close friend George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, to rule as regent. Charles had never expected to rule, growing up in the shadow of James' eldest and favorite son, Henry, who died suddenly in 1611. Failing miserably at an ambitious and rash foreign policy, Buckingham was assassinated in August of 1628, and Charles became king (Fritze 80). The printing of the Golden Speech in this year reminded the English citizens of a time when their monarch did not recklessly endanger their lives. Elizabeth defended her decisions in foreign policy; in her famous Armada speech to the troops at Tilbury in 1588, she promises, "But I tell you that I would not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, eds. 326). She glorified martyrdom for one's country, though never a needless martyrdom. At Tilbury, she declares, "Wherefore I am come among you at this time but for my recreation and pleasure, being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live and die amongst you all, to lay down for my God and for my kingdom and for my people mine honor and my blood even in the dust" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, eds. 326). A printed Golden Speech in 1628 reminded people of Elizabeth's strength and

love; in the speech, she says that she has been "the mean under God to conserve you in safety and preserve you from danger" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, eds. 340). Instead of heightened safety and a monarch who declaims a willingness to die for them and for the country, however, the people got Charles I.

Elizabeth Hageman believes the people lamented past "English strength in international politics" with images of the Queen (16). Interestingly enough, the British military was not objectively all that successful under Elizabeth; in fact, the Spanish Armada was the strangely successful centerpiece of "a war marked in large part by an almost unbroken series of English failures…Yet paradoxically England saw [Elizabeth's] principled war aims realized, one by one" (MacCaffrey 11). The peace that followed, though not a triumphant peace, was all that the English seemed to remember.

The editions printed in the reign of Charles I, that is, the editions of 1628 and 1642, seem to represent a growing tension towards the current monarch. As we saw in Chapter 1, the Golden Speech relies on and reinforces a loving and mutually giving relationship between the monarch and the subjects, and one that then underpins a similar circulation of money and emotions. Elizabeth's words reinforced the role of monarch as someone to be trusted; the duke of Buckingham had destroyed trust during his three year reign. When Charles took power in 1628, "the Commons rioted…rather than obey his order to adjourn, he tried to rule without parliament for the next eleven years, a period known as the Personal Rule" (Fritze 81).

Elizabeth's relationship with Parliament is a resonant theme of the Golden Speech. She considered them crucial, or at least in this speech to them she was careful to tell them so: "Mr. Speaker, tell the House from me I take it exceeding gratefully that the knowledge of these things is come to me from them" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, eds. 341). It must be considered that her words might originally have been backhanded: "no respects or interests have moved them other than the minds they bear to suffer no diminution of our honor and our subjects' love unto us" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, eds. 341). Naturally, they did not benefit from others granted monopolies, but they certainly would not claim personal gain from it. In other words, she spins the reasoning behind their decision into something honorable. This reinforces her power over them. The Queen respects them, appreciates them, and yet maintains the upper hand. After all, they

have to petition her to grant a change in the way the monopolies worked, and when she agrees to make the change they request, they express gratitude to her for that. Another kind of monarch might well have ignored the gratitude of Parliament, or at best issued a brief "you're welcome" statement of acknowledgment. Elizabeth, however, makes a point of coming to them with this complex speech, using the financial occasion to reinforce the personal bonds between subject and monarch and using the language of personal connection to describe the financial transaction. It seems to be the ideal alliance between a monarch and a ruling body. When the role of Parliament appears trampled, as in 1628 by Charles, a Golden Speech can once again remind the people of Parliament's importance and of another, better kind of relation between Parliament and the monarch.

The first English civil war began in 1642, with royalists and parliamentarians interpreting it differently. The Tory view: "It was an avoidable conflict, though what prevented its actual avoidance was the deliberate refusal of Charles I's enemies to accept their duty of allegiance to the Crown" (Fritze 86). The Whigs, on the other hand, felt that "Charles I had contravened the fundamental principles of the English constitution … He thus became a tyrant, and this justified resistance to him" (Fritze 86). Regardless of how to place the blame, the problem is in the disrespect for either the monarch or Parliament. Whether or not the Golden Speech was directly intended by the printer to present Elizabeth's appropriate relationship with Parliament, that would have to have been its effect, so strong would have been the contrast. She respects the efforts of Parliament members, understanding what drives them: "The zeal of which affection tending to ease my people and knit their hearts unto us, I embrace with a princely care" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, eds. 341). And she ends the speech with her own love for Parliament: "Thus, Mr. Speaker, I commend me to your loyal love, and you to my best care and your further counsels. And I pray you, Mr. Comptroller and you of my Councils, that before these gentlemen depart into their countries, you bring them all to kiss my hand" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose, eds. 342).

Also in 1642, printers enjoyed a rare period of freedom; the year before, the Court of Star Chamber had been abolished. The Court began in 1584, and "the power of the press was savagely curtailed…The religious wars of the sixteenth century were largely due to the productions of the printing press" (Lewis 80). The Court experienced

resurgence under Charles, when his printer Robert Barker "reprinted the Star Chamber Decree in 1637" (Lewis 112). It included such regulations as a requirement that reapplication be made for printing subsequent editions, and another requirement that there could only be twenty master printers (Hotchkiss 101). The last stipulation "wreak[ed] havoc in the Stationers' Company as its members jockeyed and petitioned for the coveted status of master printer" (Hotchkiss 101). The Star Chamber's dissolution in 1641 was no surprise.

Keith Thomas claims, "In the 1640s, with the Civil War, all controls seemed to have lapsed altogether and the result was an extraordinary output of heterodox ideas of a kind which would not have been allowed before or afterwards" (quoted in McKenzie 560-561). Likewise, Valerie Hotchkiss and Fred C. Robinson write, "Polemical authors found more outlets for their work, and unlicensed pamphlets and books rolled off the presses" (101). Beyond the usual emblem books and almanacs, there were many pamphlets questioning the relationship between monarch and Parliament; A.J.B. printed, "What kinde of Parliament will please the king; and how well he is affected to this present Parliament." Obviously this was heavily debated as the Civil War began, but these works were finally being printed. This is useful to my research, as the Golden Speech could be interpreted as critical of Charles, and thus controversial. There were also pleas for religious tolerance, as well as against, like Bishop George Abbot's story of the papists coming to King James I for tolerance and Abbot's own letter against it. The printing of the Golden Speech in 1642 thus occurs in the midst of a kind of free-for-all period. In D.F. McKenzie's study of the constraints on the early modern book trades, however, he claims, "Such a proliferation of titles is undoubtedly important for our understanding of a significant change in the nature of public discourse, but it tells us little about the economics of the book trade in terms of its volume, or of the costs and returns to authors, printers, and booksellers as the other principal elements of an economic model" (561). In other words, we know that there was a proliferation of different ideas, but we cannot claim much about profitability or printers' productivity. Still, to understand that in such a moment as 1642, the Golden Speech was one of the relevant editions that came out of the press is to see that it was possible for it to participate in the free flow of heterodox ideas at this crucial time of Civil Wars. In *Areopagitica*, printed

in 1644, John Milton characterizes this moment as one of "much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for Opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirr'd up in this City" (60).

Then, in 1647, Edward Husband, Printer to the Honorable House of Commons printed the Golden Speech again. At this time, "parliament, especially the House of Commons, was attempting to resist the Stuart drive toward arbitrary and absolute monarchy" (Fritze 86). By printing Elizabeth's words, Husband is appealing directly to the public, reminding them of an older, most likely nostalgic, way of structuring the government. It is not that Elizabeth was a kinder, gentler monarch; she too exercised a sometimes frightening absolutism. But her rhetoric was different, and she gave the impression that she was a loving and mutually respectful monarch who created the circulation of emotion, power, and money. John Watkins writes, "Her popularity rested less on the 'truth' of what she accomplished than on competing interpretive traditions, which made her legacy available to constituencies across a wide political spectrum" (2). This is exactly what is at stake in the Golden Speech: to print it again makes available the reinterpretation of the relations between Parliament and monarch. And thus, even if it was false, the Stuart printers looked back to this impression of Elizabeth and found renewed value in it. It would seem likely that aiming at a mass public[10] would create a different kind of pressure on Charles. In distributing the Golden Speech to the public, perhaps Husband also hoped to recapture some of Elizabeth's skill with fundraising. In other words, the Golden Speech's preoccupation with financial imagery reminds readers that donations exemplify gratitude.

This edition of 1647 was only two years before Charles's execution; obviously the role of monarch, and the extent of his power, was a controversial topic. After Charles's execution in 1649 and a second Civil War, England had a Commonwealth Parliament and then was a Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell. His son, Richard Cromwell took up the Protectorate for only a year before the country returned once more to a Commonwealth

[10] A caveat: though many copies survive today, it is still difficult to claim a mass publication then by survival rates now.

state. In 1659, the last year before the Restoration of the Monarchy with Charles II, Thomas Milbourn printed the Golden Speech. With a government in flux, the people's thoughts may have returned to their last memory of safety and security, and affection between monarch and subjects. When they felt lost and leaderless, they longed for Elizabeth. A Commonwealth Parliament was not a loving monarch. Furthermore, Elizabeth's words emphasize God's appointment of a leader and the anointed ancient blood line of royalty. The Cromwells were a relatively obscure family for much of Richard's early years, certainly not in the line of Plantagenet, Lancaster, York, and Tudor (Lee 186). The speech evokes the "chosen" quality of the monarch: "the duty which God hath laid upon me" (Marcus, Mueller & Rose 342). People "associated Elizabeth with the notion of the monarch as a sacred person whose anointing distinguished him or her from ordinary mortals" (Watkins 88). All of this is what the Golden Speech reminds readers of, readers who must have felt the contrast.

In addition, there is an assumed subtext in the Golden Speech of Elizabeth's court. As to be expected, the Puritan parliament was anti-luxurious and eschewed ornamentation. Elizabeth was known for extravagance, and the splendor was not limited to the court. She was known for her "progresses," where she traveled the country, staying at the houses of nobility. According to Mary Hill Cole, "Elizabeth made eighty-three visits to fifty-one towns and cities (London excluded) over the course of her reign" (McGee 106). Not only were small towns allowed to experience the grandeur of Elizabeth's entourage, "civic receptions…remained a discursive space in which towns and cities could publicly fashion their relationship with the crown" (McGee 105). These progresses involved all ranks of people. The Interregnum period removed this civic involvement, as well as all the finery. It is little wonder that the Restoration monarchs returned to the level of magnificence as the golden era, though not in the exact same fashion.[11]

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[11] I am not arguing that the 1659 printing was a kind of "new Elizabethan progress" throughout the realm, where her presence appears in show splendor---as we will see in chapter 3, the edition is not superbly fine or elaborate. However, Elizabeth does regain in this reprinting a kind of public presence, on paper at least, that had been missing.

Finally, two decades later, the edition of 1679 of the Golden Speech adds the phrase "after her Delivery from the Popish Plots, &c." to the title. Popish Plots, however, was not on the title page of any other version, nor did it exist at the speech's inception. Under the rule of King Charles II, Popish Plot refers to the suspicions against those who hoped to establish a Catholic tyranny. There was the Ridolfi Plot of 1571 that failed in its attempt to replace Elizabeth with her Catholic cousin Mary Stuart. But, in no way was "Elizabeth delivered from the Popish Plots," as the title to this new edition indicates. It is clearly a reference to current events, not historical ones. John Watkins calls this, "[Elizabeth's] transformation into a metonymy for specific political positions and initiatives" (87). This particular printing reminds the people of government control over Catholicism.

Also applying the malleability of Elizabeth's image and words, the editions in the 1690s add "with observations adapted to these times" to the title. For instance, after the Glorious Revolution in 1688,[12]

> Comparisons between Elizabeth and living monarchs became increasingly volatile… Williamite propagandists, for example, were eager to fan her cult as a staunch Protestant who supported the Dutch in their sixteenth-century rebellions against Spain. By the 1690s, however, recollections of her lifelong virginity so conflicted with a dominant culture of domesticity that economists typically proclaimed her inferiority to Mary II, who presented herself as William's submissive wife.
>
> (Watkins 13)

The malleability of Elizabeth's image and words are the foundation of this chapter; printers used the Golden Speech to contrast with a current leader's failings, to provide an ideal relationship between monarch and parliament, or perhaps more generally just to evoke nostalgia for the past golden era. This is not about actual facts of history, but rather, about the re-cycling of a moment in history that could serve in later ages, and

[12] I stopped my analysis after the edition of 1679, as it is the last with Egerton's words and the last un-anthologized version during the reign of King Charles II.

about the impressions that could be conveyed with the re-use of Elizabeth's speech. Though perhaps not truthful or strictly factual, nevertheless there was useful "truth" in the Golden Speech, and the impression that Elizabeth created of herself there was effective and memorable at various points.

CHAPTER 3:

THE TEXTUAL EVOLUTION; USING THE GOLDEN SPEECH TO EXEMPLIFY CHANGING PRINT TECHNOLOGY AND TRENDS[13]

During the century following Elizabeth's death, the Golden Speech was reprinted numerous times. While the words do not change, the paratexts do. As Maureen Bell explains, research about paratexts is a newer line of study, but no less important; "All aspects of the text's physical form are capable of constituting meaning," and she provides examples, "Choices of paper, format, type, ornament, illustration, binding and page layout" (632).[14] Other paratextual elements are titles, prologues, epilogues, and colophons. Each printed version discussed in the previous chapter for its historical context will now be examined for its technical properties. My goal is to show how printers altered the Golden Speech to make it more applicable to their time, and therefore can now reflect back on seventeenth-century printing.

Print culture changed dramatically during the seventeenth century, evolving with new technology and trends. The different versions of the Golden Speech represent the print techniques of their time period, and I will explore the reasoning behind the popularity of each technique. In addition, at this time, "the demand for books was greater

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[13] The publication information for each version of the "Golden Speech" can be found in *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700*, *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature 1474-1700*, *Early English Books Online*, or *Worldcat.*

[14] Maureen Bell continues the scholarship begun by Gérard Genette and his 1987 book *Les Seuils*, or Paratexts in English.

than ever. The presses met this demand somehow, but with a standard of printing worse than anything Caxton had printed a hundred years before" (Lewis 111). Although it is hard to generalize broadly about printing practices that varied so much from place to place, increasingly, quantity seems to have been valued over quality. The technology supported such a demand; paper replaced vellum and sheepskin, and pre-sewn books and booklets replaced sheets to be bound on demand in bookstores (Foot 631). The work of bookbinding falls outside my scholarship, as each version of the Golden Speech seems to be bound prior to selling, yet the printed speeches still suggest an increased literacy and consumer demand of the time period. The Golden Speech remained popular in the seventeenth century, reprinted numerous times by different printers. A caveat seems necessary: in every instance, I hope to use the Golden Speech as an example of printing innovations and practices, as opposed to erroneously judging all of print culture by one speech.

In the Introduction, I outlined four distinct versions of the Golden Speech, beyond the oral version Elizabeth delivered: (1) manuscript found among papers belonging to Archbishop Laud's secretary (2) Robert Barker's printed version released by the court (3) manuscript version in Sir Thomas Egerton's papers (4) Hayward Townshend's journal with added personal perspective. I will first examine the official copy released by the courts in 1601. Though scholars argue that the words do not accurately reflect Elizabeth's words, the speech claims on the title page: "*The same being taken* verbatim *in writing by A.B. as neere as he could possibly set it downe.*" J.E. Neale claims the only member of Parliament in 1601 with those initials was Anthony Blagrave, but there is no way to confirm A.B.'s identity (cited in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* 343). Since it was "Imprinted at London" with the royal arms, Robert Barker is the assumed printer. He succeeded his father Christopher as the Queen's printer in 1582 (Lewis 111). H.S. Bennett explains, "It was entirely reasonable that there should be someone to whom the Crown could turn to print such matters as it wanted to be spread as widely and rapidly as possible" (54). Since the printing of proclamations and other official documents was not a particularly lucrative enterprise, the Queen's Printer was granted the right to be the primary printer of Bibles.

Marginalia opposite the title page of this copy, STC 7578, as filmed on EEBO, reveals the book's location at Emmanuel College Library, University of Cambridge (See Figure 1). Underneath is written "John Breton" and a Latin inscription. According to *The Western manuscripts in the library of Emmanuel College. A descriptive catalogue*, a "J. Breton" was a donor to the library (James 86). In the lower right-hand corner of the title page, the publication's STC number is listed in a different and presumably a librarian's newer script: 7578. There are two other known copies of this edition at the Folger Shakespeare Library and Harvard University.

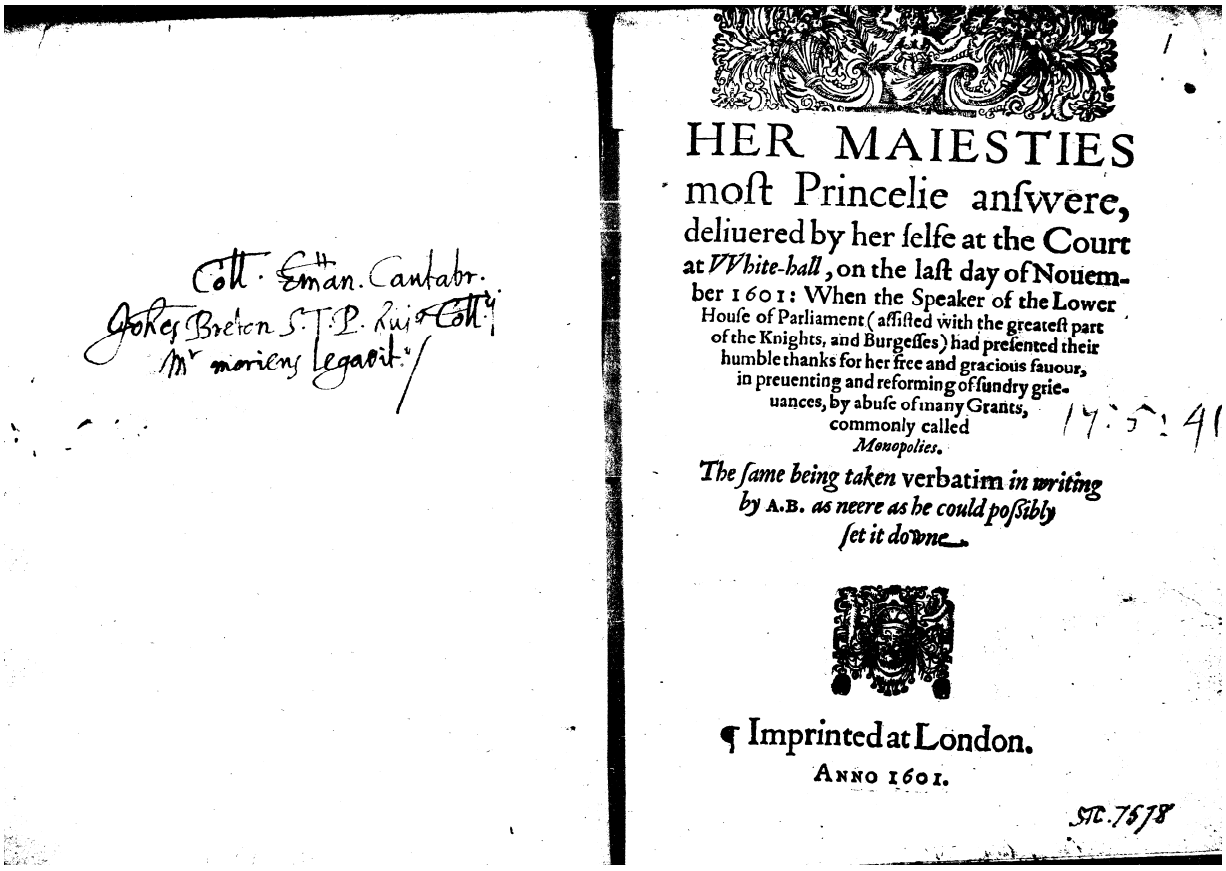
This 1601 edition (Fig. 1) is the only edition without a short, modern title; rather, on the title page is a description of context, arranged in the style of George Puttenham's triquet:[15]

> HER MAIESTIES/most Princelie answere,/deliuered by her selfe at the Court/at *White-hall*, on the last day of Nouem-/ber 1601: When the Speaker of the Lower/House of Parliament (assisted with the greatest part/of the Knights, and Burgesses) had presented their/humble thanks for her free and gracious fauour,/in preuenting and reforming of sundry grie-/uances, by abuse of many Grants,/commonly called/*Monopolies*.

The first line is printed in tall roman typeface and in all capital letters, with the next four lines gradually shorter; after that, the size disparity is negligible. The frequent changing of typeface height indicates a labor-intensive print process of setting up the formes. This title page required careful composition, including the tedious placement of furniture around the text. This is the best title page of all the other printed Golden Speeches to follow in the seventeenth century, exemplifying a loss of printing quality over time.

Barker presumably felt that "HER MAIESTIES" was the most important element and "*Monopolies*" one of the least. The border directly above "HER MAIESTIES" is a seated person with wings, surrounded by swirling lines and flowers. It seems to be a woman because of her breasts and the reference to Elizabeth directly below her. The italicization draws attention to the words "*White-hall*," the location, and "*Monopolies,"* the initial reason for the speech. Likewise, the only non-italicized word draws the

[15] Puttenham, George. *Arte of English Poesie*, Book III: "Of Ornament"



Coll. Emman. Cantabr.
Jokes Breton S. J. P. Rui & Coll.
Mr moriens Legavit.

HER MAIESTIES
moſt Princelie anſwere,
deliuered by her ſelfe at the Court
at *VVhite-hall*, on the laſt day of Nouem-
ber 1601: When the Speaker of the Lower
Houſe of Parliament (aſſiſted with the greateſt part
of the Knights, and Burgeſſes) had preſented their
humble thanks for her free and gracious fauour,
in preuenting and reforming of ſundry grie-
uances, by abuſe of many Grants,
commonly called
Monopolies.

The ſame being taken verbatim *in writing*
by A.B. *as neere as he could poſſibly*
ſet it downe.

¶ Imprinted at London.
ANNO 1601.

STC. 7578

Fig. 1. Title Page of the Golden Speech, London: Robert Barker, 1601.

reader's attention in the following sentence: "verbatim," or the promise of word-for-word accuracy and thus validity.

The edition of 1601 is folded as a quarto. The printed pagination is at the top center of each page, with no running header, and one printed sig, "A3," on the bottom of what we would now call page 1. The scanned copy on EEBO indicates thin pages, as you can see bleed-through on the first page. This could also mean there was moisture or excess compression in storage, or that the ink was not fully dry prior to quiring, or stacking the sheets. There is another triquet on the first page of the same description on the title page, but the statement of A.B.'s note-taking ("The same being taken verbatim in writing by A.B. as neere as he could possibly set it down") is included at the bottom of the triquet, rather than in a separate spacing and typeface. Again, this indicates how much work went into this printing. At the top of the page, there is one of the three floral borders used throughout; the other two are on the sixth page and back cover. Each of the three is a fairly standard border design that harkens to a French legacy; England employed designs during the Golden age that were popular decades earlier in France (Foot 620).

"M. Speaker," is in the center of the page, above a decorated initial "W" that is seven lines tall. The text is written in italic. There are catchwords in the lower right-hand corner to direct the printer in ordering the pages. Catchwords along with pagination and roman type are innovations of Richard Pynson, a prolific printer of King Henry VIII who printed in the wake of William Caxton and contemporaneous with Caxton's successor Wynkyn de Worde (Hotchkiss 53). There is very little blank space on pages 2-6, presumably to lower printing costs. David McKitterick, quoted in Maureen Bell's essay on paratexts, states that the "'cramped effect, of small sizes of type occupying as much of the page as possible,' of much seventeenth-century Cambridge printing was due to the 'penny-pinching' of its printers" (632). Plus, the quarto is too diminutive to have more blank space and a shorter, but still legible typeface.

All words related to leadership in the speech, like "Lower House," "King," "Souereigne," "King," and "Queene" are capitalized, as is "God" and "Lord." Almost a century earlier, Caxton and his fellow printers had yet to determine the capitalization of religious figures; for one example of many, in Christine de Pizan's *Moral Proverbs*,

printed by Richard Pynson, "god" is consistently lower-case. In 1601, such capitalization is common. Other capitalized words are people, such as "Physicians," "Patient," "Tribunal," "Substitutes," and "Subjects." The last capitalized words are "Best" and "Most," arguably to emphasize the comparison being made. Here, Elizabeth is claiming that she would abdicate if there were any other who could rule as she does. There is no finis or colophon signaling the end of the speech: just an "A" on the last page.

EEBO lists one version of the Golden Speech printed in 1628, but the STC identifies four undated editions that could have been produced in that year. They distinguish the different versions by the location of the signature (sig) "A_3." The state of this edition of which a copy only exists at the Folger Shakespeare Library has the sig below the "k" of the word "knowes." The state of this edition for which copies are located at Queens College, Cambridge University, and Peterborough Cathedral has the sig under the "y" of "you." The state of this edition for which there are copies located at the Folger, Huntington Library, and Harvard University has the sig under "ow" of "knowes." And lastly, the fourth state, with copies at the Bodleian Library (Oxford), Trinity College, Peterborough, Blickling, and Yale University, has an unsigned A_3. By these definitions, the version that EEBO lists as 1628 is the third (under the "ow"). Additionally, the STC uses Thomas Birch's *The Court and Times of Charles I* to place one of these states before July 12, 1628. A letter describes John Bill presenting Charles with "Queen Elizabeth's last speech…by way of complaint, that another had printed, without leave or licence, that which was his copy, having been printed, when it was spoken, by the king's printer that then was" (*The Court and Times…*). Charles replied, "You printers may print any thing" (*The Court and Times…*). Bill's concern shows that the 1628 edition was most likely not printed by the court, but also implies the controversial nature of who was allowed to print at this time and what they could or could not print. This censorship will be discussed further later.

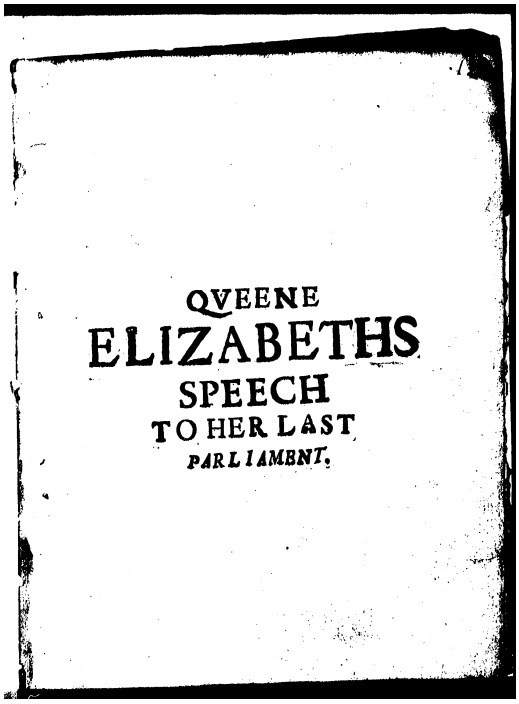
Though we do not have any printer information for any of the states of the edition of 1628, if any were released from the court, they would have either Barker's printer's mark (according to the Caxton Celebration's *Catalogue*, His Majesty's printer Robert Barker printed his last Bible in 1640), the House of Commons double lion printer's mark of the edition of 1647, or some other official mark. This anonymous printer did,

however, write a preface supplying historical information, and it is entirely different from that of the version from 1601, to be discussed below.

The edition of 1628 listed on EEBO has a minimalist title page: "QVEENE ELIZABETHS SPEECH TO HER LAST *PARLIAMENT*" surrounded by empty space (Fig. 2). The words in descending order of font size would be: "Elizabeths," "speech," "qveene," "to her last," and "Parliament." While it was still difficult for the printer to change the height of the typeface, this title page requires dramatically less work than the edition of 1601. Additionally, the font variation in this version seems more arbitrary than the 1601. Peter Campbell explains:

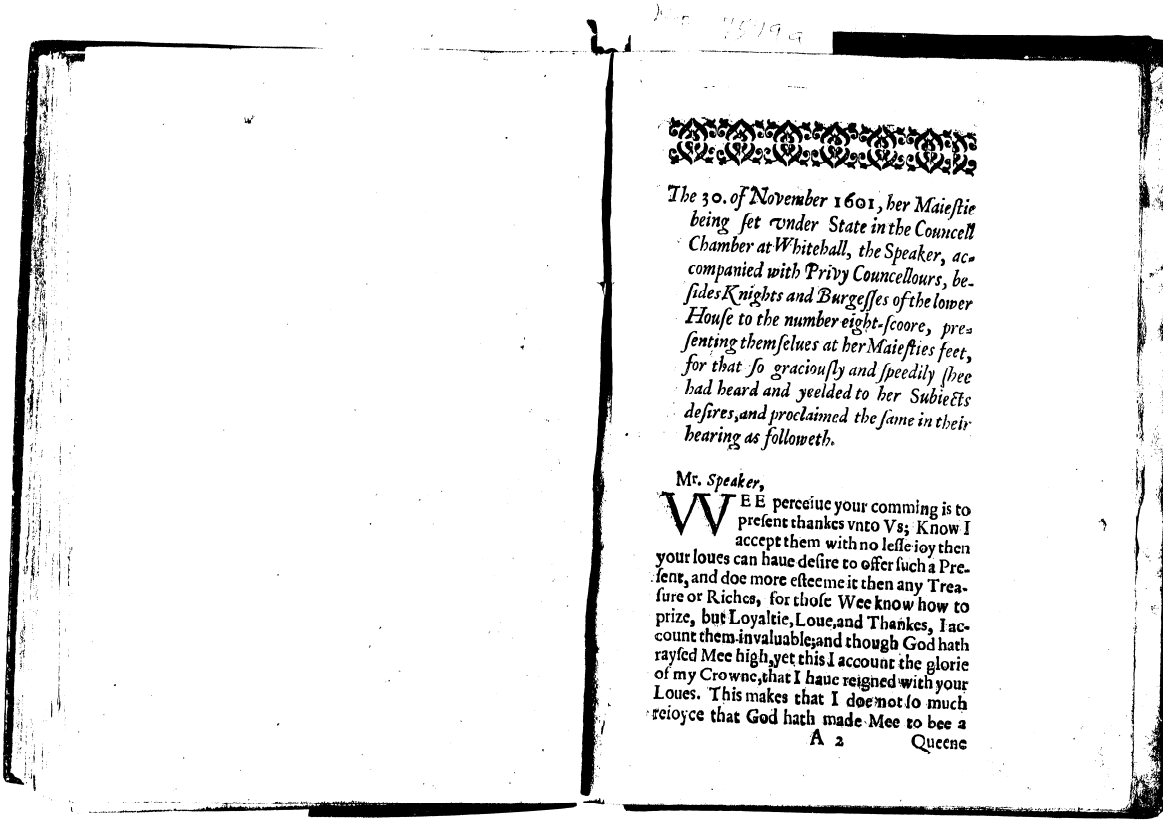
> All seventeenth-century printers played the variation game. Sometimes, it seems, for its own sake--they felt uneasy if a display line was followed by another in the same size and character-- but in most texts…typographic differentiation…is functional. The status of a word on the page is determined by its position (headline, text, note), its font (roman, italic, small capitals black letter, Greek), its size and its case (upper, lower)" (645-646).

On the title page, the printer believes "Elizabeth" is once again the most important word and "Parliament" is the least. The importance of Parliament's role in governance is shown through its italic typeface, yet Elizabeth's leadership role is still far greater. When Campbell analyzed Hobbes' *Leviathan* in a similar fashion, he acknowledged, "*Leviathan*'s typography now looks over zealous, even a trifle absurd … [But] simplify the typography and you lose something which is relevant, if not to the meaning of the text in the narrowest sense, at least to the flavour of its rhetoric" (647). The same principle seems to be at work here. This edition of 1628 begins with a preface explaining the historical context (Fig. 3), and though we know it to be from Egerton's papers, Leah Marcus does not include this section in her anthology. It is a little-known paratext worth explaining, as it shows Parliament members' reactions to Elizabeth, and in that chosen diction, reveals seventeenth-century sentimentality towards the past Queen.



QVEENE
ELIZABETHS
SPEECH
TO HER LAST
PARLIAMENT.

Fig. 2. Title Page of the Golden Speech. London: Unknown, 1628.



The 30. of November 1601, her Maiestie being set vnder State in the Councell Chamber at Whitehall, the Speaker, accompanied with Privy Councellours, besides Knights and Burgesses of the lower House to the number eight-scoore, presenting themselues at her Maiesties feet, for that so graciously and speedily shee had heard and yeelded to her Subiects desires, and proclaimed the same in their hearing as followeth.

Mr. *Speaker*,

WEE perceiue your comming is to present thankes vnto Vs; Know I accept them with no lesse ioy then your loues can haue desire to offer such a Present, and doe more esteeme it then any Treasure or Riches, for those Wee know how to prize, but Loyaltie, Loue, and Thankes, I account them invaluable; and though God hath raysed Mee high, yet this I account the glorie of my Crowne, that I haue reigned with your Loues. This makes that I doe not so much reioyce that God hath made Mee to bee a

Fig. 3. Preface to the Golden Speech. London: Unknown, 1628.

The printer writes:

> The 30 of November 1601, her Maiestie being set under State in the Councell Chamber at Whitehall, the Speaker, accompanied with Privy Councellours, besides Knights and Burgesses of the lower House to the number eight-scoore, presenting themselves at her Maiesties feet, for that so graciously and speedily shee had heard and yielded to her Subjects desires, and proclaimed the same in their hearing as followeth.[16]

The preface is essential to understanding the situation, but his[17] choice to place members "at her Maiesties feet," and for Elizabeth to "so graciously and speedily…yield" is less historically accurate, more romanticized and nostalgic. The preface is written in italic. The speech itself, however, is in roman typeface, with the exception of every mention of "Mr. Speaker," "Mr. Consouller," and "Mr. Secretary," which are in italic as well. People are capitalized, as well as nouns deemed worthy of emphasis, such as "Glory," "Conscience," Grievances," and "Oppressions" (though not in every instance). The last paragraph of the speech is in a triquet, but with no typeface variation. The last word is alone and capitalized: "Hand" of "you bring them all to kisse my Hand." Since it is a part of the Queen's physical body and is also the symbol for paying respect to the political body, it is emphasized. There is still no colophon, but the printer added a "FINIS" to signal the end.

At different periods, printers were freer to print than at other times; the level of censorship varied. Some points of interest come up with respect to these later editions of the Golden Speech. Robert Barker, confirmed printer of only the 1601 version of the Golden Speech, "reprinted the Star Chamber Decree in 1637, which had limited the number of presses and type-founders to those then in operation in London and in Oxford and Cambridge" (Lewis 112). It included such regulation as, "Every book, ballad, chart, portrait, or whatsoever is to bear the names of its printer, publisher, and author, upon pain to its printer, not only of forfeiture, but of having his presses and type defaced…"

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[16] *STC* 7579

[17] There is no evidence pointing towards the printer's gender, but I've chosen to apply a male pronoun since most early modern printers were men.

(Bennett 46). There were no Golden Speeches printed during this time, and the ones printed before and after the period included no printer information. Obviously, if indeed James was seen as a lesser monarch, the Queen's words represented something potentially subversive or at least critical of James by implicit contrast, hence the lack of printing information. This is not to assume that these laws did not exist during Elizabeth's reign; they did, but to print her own words in her own time would not have drawn censorship, and in any case, the severity of censorship and punishment "was at its height between 1630 and 1640" (Bennett 48-49). The Chamber was abolished four years after Barker's reprinting. The next Golden Speech printed was in 1642, immediately following the end of the Decree.

The *STC 1641-1700*, contrary to the *STC 1475-1640* and claims by David Harris Sacks, lists the Golden Speech of 1642 as a separate publication, rather than a reprint of the edition of 1628. This one is located in the Thomason Collection of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle. The edition of 1642 is identical to the edition of 1628 in terms of the text, but it has still been reset. On the title page (Fig. 4), the "R" and "N" of "Parliament" have curled tails; the 1628 title page does not have these additions. Furthermore, the printer of the 1642 edition added a picture of Elizabeth on the front page.[18]

The nature of illustration changed between the sixteenth and seventeenth century; Maureen Bell explains, "Whereas in the sixteenth century the woodcut, which could be set up in the same forme as type, was the usual method of supplying illustrations in books, during the seventeenth century the use of copperplate engravings quickly became the norm for pictorial title-pages, portraits of the author and large illustrations" (633). In fact, woodcuts in the seventeenth century were "increasingly relegated to cheap editions" (Bell 633). In keeping with this illustration trend, the edition of 1642 has a copperplate-engraved portrait of Elizabeth; EEBO describes the edition as "[8] p., 1 leaf of plates."

[18] There is also a clasp on this edition; however, the bindings and provenance of these copies are outside the scope of this preliminary study.

Fig. 4. Title Page of the Golden Speech. London: Unknown, 1642.

In the digitized version, there appear to be tiny hatched lines on the side and bottom of the picture, characteristic of engraved images, although it is not easy to see the other characteristic point, the faint indentation line around the image, the trace of the plate mark. This printer apparently chose to have a metal plate created for the image, which is fairly costly and implies he thought he would get his investment back on this edition.

Tessa Watt explains why a picture would be one of the few alterations between the editions of 1624 and 1642: "in a partially literate society, the most influential media were those that combined print with non-literate forms" (quoted in Bell 633). The picture of Elizabeth makes the Golden Speech's message even more effective to mid-seventeenth-century consumers. Like monarch, like subjects: "Charles I was more interested in pictures than in books" (Foot 630).[19]

In the picture, Elizabeth appears powerful. She is older: her neck is adorned with the large white ruff that she wore later in her reign. In addition, Elizabeth Pomeroy explains, "Toward the end of her life [Elizabeth] habitually wore white," and young members of the court would wear white to show their allegiance (57). As was the custom, Elizabeth is heavily ornamented: "The regalia means authority: the crown, the personal vesting of authority in an individual; the orb, the ruler's hand upon the world or her kingdom; the scepter, justice to be combined with power" (Pomeroy 10). Her face is serious; her eyes on the viewer. Noting the irony, Pomeroy writes, "in the portraits of Elizabeth, the contrast between painterly stiffness and the known vigor of the lady is only heightened" (74).[20]

The picture is surrounded by a Latin inscription, claiming her reign over England, France, and Ireland. On the bottom, there is the lion for England and the dragon for Wales. Both top corners have a seal, on one written "Semper Eadem" or "Always the same," Elizabeth's motto. This picture represents the first Golden Speech that does not have a blank inside front cover. Margaret M. Smith would argue that the blank pages of

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[19] Iconography was important in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, so the picture's connection to literacy is only speculative.

[20] Much scholarship exists on the images of Queen Elizabeth. See in Bibliography: Belsey and Belsey, Frances, Gent, Moss, Strong, and Yates.

the editions of 1601 and 1628 are remains from the past generation's unbound books. Initially, unbound books were stored in quires and a blank page on top protected the rest of the book. Books bound prior to selling made the blank page superfluous. Admittedly, in later centuries, numerous blank pages at the beginning of a book signaled luxury. Overall, we can say that the edition of 1642, with its copperplate engraving, exemplifies some of the changes in the role of illustration in mid-seventeenth-century printing.

In 1647, at the end of the Second Civil War and two years before Charles I's execution at Whitehall, Edward Husband printed the Golden Speech. According to Hazlitt's *Second Series of Bibliographical Collections…*, Husband was a printer for Parliament from 1642 until 1660. Jason Peacey calls him the "leading parliamentary publisher of the 1640s," who "appears to have published little besides official work" (122). He placed a seal with two lions and "London, Printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honourable House of Commons" on each publication's title page. This is the first instance where we have an exact date—March 16, 1647—on the print (Fig. 5). As was the trend, the title's typeface has varying heights. "SPEECH" is the largest, then "QUEEN," and then "PARLIAMENT." "ELIZABETH" is shorter and italicized, as it is her office ("QUEEN") that is emphasized as opposed to the individual. It is not surprising that the typeface of "PARLIAMENT" has grown a bit. The title page's border is not connected, but rather small individual woodcuts. This requires more time and attention in the composition and the set up of the edge formes, though still not as hard to do as that on the edition of 1601. Unlike the last two versions, this version has a proud printer's name attached to it.

As King Charles I proved himself an inadequate leader, Husband may have reflected the country's nostalgia for Elizabeth through strategic capitalization—or perhaps it was nostalgia for capital! And the Golden Speech was just the thing to provide it. In the preface, he begins every "Her" and "She" referring to Elizabeth with upper-case letters, almost like a religious figure. At the start of her speech, he places a five-line undecorated initial. He distinguishes two passages of her speech with indentations and italic typeface. Both of these key points in the text are Elizabeth asking Parliament directly for something. The first, she says: "Mr. Speaker, I would wish you, and the rest to stand up, for I fear I shall yet trouble you with longer speech." He emphasizes the fact

QUEEN
ELIZABETH's
SPEECH
To Her laſt
PARLIAMENT,
Made 30. Novemb. 1601.

London, Printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Honorable Houſe of Commons, March 16. 1647.

Fig. 5. Title Page of the Golden Speech. London: Edward Husband, 1647.

that her gratitude towards Parliament has necessitated a longer speech. The second is the last paragraph, her wish to have each member kiss her hand. Husband ends the speech with "FINIS" in a taller typeface, almost to give the impression of a standing ovation.

Whereas the edition of 1647 included a clasp, indicating a possession worthy of guarding, the next printed edition is in the format of a broadside: one inexpensive unfolded sheet that could be scattered anywhere. This Golden Speech was published near the very end of the Interregnum, in 1659, by Thomas Milbourn. It is the only broadside version (Fig. 6). Maureen Bell explains the popularity of broadsides at the time:

> a separate technology from printing and therefore beyond the control of the Stationers' Company, printmaking[21] increasingly contributed to the appearance of the printed book in the later seventeenth century and…was combined with letterpress in satirical and topical broadsides (634).

The broadside form allowed more freedom from censorship. It also reaches potentially many more people and people who are of a lower socioeconomic status; many people who could not afford a book might be able to afford a broadside sheet. The broadside format ushered in a folio format of news narratives popular during the time of Popish Plots, exemplified by the Golden Speech of 1679 to be discussed shortly.

Once again, "ELIZABETH" is the largest word on the page, with "The Golden Speech of Queen" jammed along the top in smaller roman type. "Parliament" has the second tallest typeface. There are seemingly unrelated handwritten numbers next to the title. Before the speech, Milbourn adds a historical and very reverent perspective in a prologue, referring to the art of printing itself:

> This Speech ought to be set in Letters of Gold, that as well the Majesty, prudence and virtue of this Royal Queen might in general most exquisitely appear; as all so that her Religious Love, and tender respect which she particularly, and constantly did bear to her Parliament in unfeigned sincerity, might (to the shame, and perpetual disgrace and infamy of some of her successors) be nobly and truly vindicated, and proclaimed, with all grateful recognition to God for so great a

[21] Printmaking refers to emblems, plates, or illustrations.

34.

The Golden Speech of Queen ELIZABETH TO HER LAST PARLIAMENT,

669 f 22
33

30 *November, Anno Domini*, 1601.

THis Speech ought to be ſet in *Letters of Gold*, that aſwell the Majeſty, prudence and virtue of this Royal Queen might in general moſt exquiſitely appear; as alſo that her Religious Love, and tender reſpect which ſhe particularly, and conſtantly did bear to her Parliament in unfeigned ſincerity, might (to the ſhame, and perpetual diſgrace and infamy of ſome of her Succeſſors) be nobly and truly vindicated, and proclaimed, with all grateful recognition to God for ſo great a Bleſſing to his poor people of *England*, in vouchſafing them heretofore ſuch a gracious Princeſs, and magnanimous Defendor of the Reformed Religion, and heroick Patroneſs of the liberty of her Subjects in the freedom and honour of their Parliaments; which have been under God, the continual Conſervators of the Splendour, and wealth of this Common-wealth againſt Tyranny, and Oppreſſion.

The 30. *of* November, 1601. *her Majeſty being ſet under State in the Council-Chamber at* White-hall, *the Speaker, accompanied with Privy Councellors, beſides Knights and Burgeſſes of the lower Houſe to the number of eight-ſcore, preſenting themſelves at her Majeſties feet, for that ſo graciouſly and ſpeedily ſhe had heard and yielded to her Subjects deſires, and proclaimed the ſame in their hearing, as followeth:*

Mr. *Speaker*,

WEE perceive your coming is to preſent Thanks unto Us; Know, I accept them with no leſſe Joy, than your Loves can have deſire to offer ſuch a Preſent, and do more eſteem it, than any Treaſure of Riches; for thoſe We know how to prize, but Loyalty, Love, and Thanks, I account them invaluable: and though God hath raiſed Me high, yet this I account the glory of my Crown, that I have Reigned with your Loves. This makes that I do not ſo much Rejoyce, that God hath made Me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen over ſo Thankful a People, and to be the mean, under God, to conſerve you in Safety, and to preſerve you from Danger; yea, to be the Inſtrument to deliver you from diſhonour, ſhame, and infamy; to keep you from ſervitude, and from ſlavery under our Enemies, and cruel tyranny, and vile Oppreſſion intended againſt Us: for the better withſtanding whereof, We take very acceptably your intended helps, and chiefly in that it manifeſteth your loves, and largeneſs of heart to your Soveraign. Of my ſelf I muſt ſay this, I never was any greedy ſcraping graſper, nor a ſtrict faſt-holding Prince, nor yet a waſter; My heart was never ſet upon any worldly goods, but only for my Subjects good. What you do beſtow on Me, I will not hoard up, but receive it to beſtow on you again; yea, Mine own Properties I account yours, to be expended for your good, and your eyes ſhall ſee the beſtowing of it for your welfare.

Mr. *Speaker*, I would wiſh you, and the reſt to ſtand up, for I fear I ſhall yet trouble you with longer Speech. Mr. *Speaker*, you give Me thanks, but I am more to thank you, and I charge you, thank them of the Lower-Houſe from Me, for had I not received knowledge from you, I might a fallen into the lapſe of an Error, only for want of true information. Since I was Queen, yet did I never put My Pen to any Grant but upon pretext, and ſemblance made Me, that it was for the good, and avail of my Subjects generally, though a private profit to ſome of my ancient Servants who have deſerved well: But that my Grants ſhall be made Grievances to my People, and Oppreſſions, to be priviledged under colour of our Pattents, Our Princely Dignity ſhall not ſuffer it. When I heard it, I could give no reſt unto my thoughts until I had reformed it, and thoſe Varlets, lewd perſons, abuſers of my bounty, ſhall know I will not ſuffer it. And Mr. *Speaker*, tell the Houſe from me, I take it exceeding grateful that the knowledge of theſe things are come unto Me from them. And though amongſt them the principal Members are ſuch as are not touched in private, and therefore need not ſpeak from any feeling of the grief, yet We have heard that other Gentlemen alſo of the Houſe, who ſtand as free, have ſpoken as freely in it, which gives Us to know that no reſpects or intereſts have moved them other then the minds they bear to ſuffer no diminution of our Honour, and our Subjects love unto Us. The zeal of which affection tending to eaſe my People, and knit their hearts unto Us, I embraee with a Princely care farre above all earthly Treaſures. I eſteem my peoples love, more than which I deſire not to merit; And God that gave me here to ſit, and placed me over you, knows that I never reſpected my ſelf, but as your good was concerned in Me: yet what dangers, what practices, and what perils I have paſſed, ſome, if not all of you know, but none of theſe things do move Me, or ever made me fear, but it is God that hath delivered Me. And in my governing this Land, I have ever ſet the laſt Judgement day before mine eyes, and ſo to rule, as I ſhall be Judged and anſwer before a higher Judge, to whoſe Judgement-Seat I do appeal in that, never thought was cheriſhed in my heart that tended not to my peoples good. And if my princely bounty have been abuſed, and my Grants turned to the hurt of my people contrary to my will and meaning, or if any in Authority under Me have neglected, or converted what I have committed unto them, I hope God will not lay their culps to my charge. To be a King, and were a Crown, is a thing more glorious to them that ſee it, than it is pleaſant to them that bear it: for my ſelfe, I never was ſo much inticed with the glorious name of a King, or the royal authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made Me his Inſtrument to maintain his Truth and Glory, and to defend this Kingdom from diſhonor, damage, tyranny, and oppreſſion. But ſhould I aſcribe any of theſe things unto my ſelf, or my ſexly weakneſſe, I were not worthy to live, and of all moſt unworthy of the mercies I have received at Gods hands: but to God only and and wholly all is given and aſcribed. The cares and trouble of a Crown I cannot more fitly reſemble, than to the Drugges of a learned Phyſitian, perfumed with ſome Aromatical ſavour, or to bitter Pils gilded over, by which they are made more acceptable or leſſe offenſive, which indeed are bitter and unpleaſant to take; and for mine own part, were it not for conſcience ſake to diſcharge the duty that God hath laid upon Me, & to maintain his Glory, and keep you in Safety, in mine own diſpoſition I ſhould be willing to reſigne the place I hold to any other, and glad to be freed of the Glory with the Labors: For it is not my deſire to live or reign longer, than my life & reign ſhall be for your good. And though you have had and may have many mightier and wiſer Princes ſitting in this Seat, yet you never had, nor ſhall have any that will love you better.

Thus Mr. *Speaker*, I commend Me to your loyal Loves, and yours to my beſt care, and your further Councels; and I pray you Mr. *Controullor*, and Mr. *Secretary*, and you of my Councel, that before theſe Gentlemen depart into their Countreys you bring them all to kiſſe my Hand.

LONDON, Printed by *Tho. Milbourn*, and are to be ſold at his Houſe in *Jewen*-Street. Nov. 27. 1659

Fig. 6. Broadside Edition of the Golden Speech. London: Tho. Milbourn, 1659

> blessing to his poor people of England, in vouchsafing them heretofore such a gracious Princess, and magnanimous Defendor of the Reformed Religion, and heroick Patroness of the liberty of her Subjects in the freedom and honour of their Parliaments; which have been under God, the continual Conservators of the Splendour, and wealth of this Common-wealth against Tyranny, and Oppression.

Milbourn reveals the qualities he values most in a leader, with respect for Parliament as paramount. Since the last monarch was executed, Milbourn can freely condemn Charles' actions, though he slyly lumps James into the category of Elizabeth's disgraceful successors: "to the shame, and perpetual disgrace and infamy of some of her successors." Milbourn also raises the issue of religion more than once, comparing Elizabeth's comparably peaceful protestant reign to Charles' arbitrary religious policies and Oliver Cromwell's Puritanism. By calling her the "heroick Patroness of the liberty of her Subjects," Milbourn prizes liberty for English subjects; perhaps this is a statement on the current stringent printing laws. He ends his passage with the power of Parliament: "under God, the continual Conservators of the Splendour, and wealth of this Common-wealth against Tyranny, and Oppression." Interestingly enough, he implies that more tyranny and oppression exist in the Interregnum period than under Elizabeth. The people agreed: the monarchy resumed the following year. Lastly, when he adds "Golden" to the title and claims the speech needed to be written in "gold," he shows how widespread the Parliamentary member's quote, "it was worthy to be written in gold: they and their sons and posterity for several generations were to know the speech which she now made, as Queen Elizabeth's 'Golden Speech,'" had become (Neale *Queen* 400).

The broadside is printed in tiny roman typeface on a larger sheet of paper. It allows for the entire work to be viewable at first glance. The small font, large paragraphs, and one page format, however, make for a difficult reading experience; only the title is clear. This suggests that the theme of the print—Queen Elizabeth's Golden Speech—was more important as a selling point than the actual speech. Milbourn seems to have been selling nostalgia for Elizabeth's golden era.

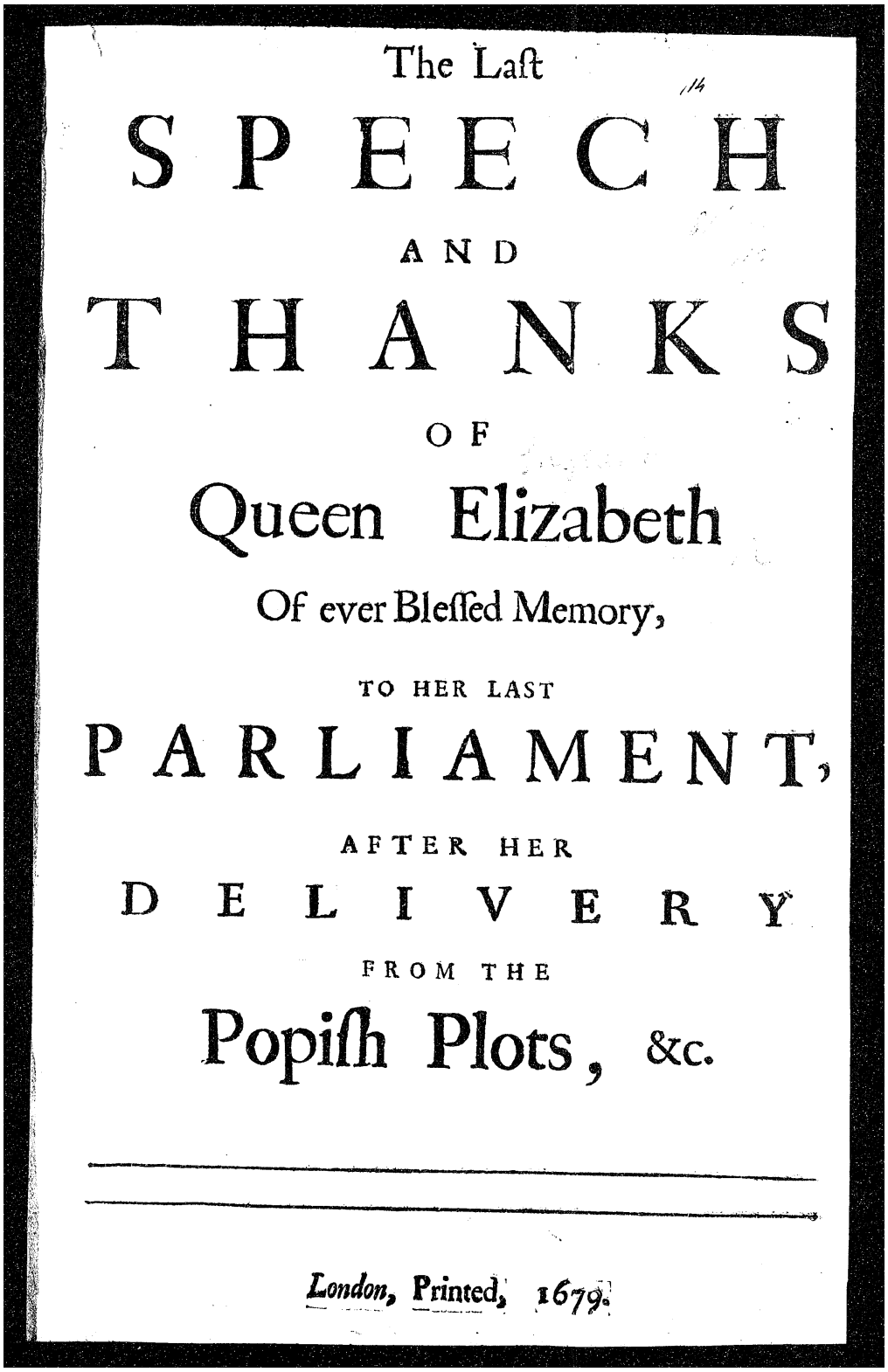
Like other versions, each "Mr. Speaker" in the speech is in italic, as well as the paragraph of historical context after Milbourn's preface. The speech begins with an eight-line decorated initial; Milbourn returns to the original spelling of the first word

"WEE" (Edward Husband had corrected it to "We" twelve years earlier). Milbourn capitalizes almost every noun, from "Joy" to "Enemies." Rather than using capitalization to draw a reader's attention, he uses it to make the speech look official, like a royal decree.[22] This broadside edition only exists now in the Thomason Collection (British Museum) and the Bodleian Library.

Donald Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue* notes an edition of the Golden Speech printed in 1671, but it is unavailable on EEBO and Worldcat. This printing was eleven years after the Restoration of the monarchy with King Charles II. No printer is listed, though copies are located at the British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge, Haigh Hall, John Rylands Library (Manchester), Huntington Library, Union Theological Seminary, Library College of Philadelphia, and Yale. Unfortunately, despite numerous attempts through different resources, I have not been able to view this version.

Wing does not include the edition of 1679 (Fig. 7), but it can be found on EEBO and Worldcat's database. The EEBO version reproduces the Huntington Library copy. This version is a folio entitled: "The Last SPEECH and THANKS of Queen Elizabeth Of ever Blessed Memory, to her last Parliament, after her Delivery from the Popish Plots, &c." The largest words are "Speech" and "Thanks," emphasizing the leader's appreciation. The second largest words are "Parliament" and "Popish Plots," once again emphasizing an essential Parliament. In the last chapter, the relationship between Elizabeth and Popish Plots was mentioned, but here we explore the portrayal of the plots in print, beginning with Harold Love's "The Look of News: Popish Plot Narratives 1678-1680." Love discusses narratives, not speeches, but the Golden Speech seems to follow the trends Love explains. During this period, "the major pieces were all in folio format, clearly printed on good paper," as the Golden Speech is (Love 653). In addition, most had "wide margins, large, clear type and generous white space on the type page. Clearly paper, the major expense of printing, did not need to be husbanded: despite this they sold for the customary penny a sheet with a small premium for the large volumes" (655). The Golden Speech, too, has "large, clear type" and blank space on the title page. The

[22] This seems to anticipate the common practice of capitalization of nouns in the eighteenth century.



The Laſt

SPEECH

AND

THANKS

OF

Queen Elizabeth

Of ever Bleſſed Memory,

TO HER LAST

PARLIAMENT,

AFTER HER

DELIVERY

FROM THE

Popiſh Plots, &c.

London, Printed, 1679.

Fig. 7. Title Page of the Golden Speech. London, Unknown, 1679.

narratives, according to Love, also included a series of legitimations by respected individuals, to validate this fiction as news. Elizabeth Cellier, a noted Catholic midwife, attempted a "Catholic refutation," to the narratives in 1680 and used the same folio format plus four verses of Psalms, proving how far the Popish Plots narratives altered the style of bookmaking in this period (655). The Golden Speech does not have these legitimations, surprisingly so since Thomas Milbourn had dedicated so much ink to validating his 1659 print. Love writes, "The Popish Plot narratives represent a brilliant attempt to hijack what was at the time accepted as a news medium in order to make it a vehicle of malicious untruth" (Love 655). Likewise, an unknown printer hijacked a respected historical speech and attached "Popish Plots" to the title.

The first page of the edition of 1679 has a shortened version of the title: "The Last SPEECH of Queen ELIZABETH to her Last Parliament," and includes a fact never added before: "Which began October 20th 1601." It includes one sig, A_2, and a catchword. The pagination is at the top center, and the second page ends with a "*FINIS*." The Huntington Library stamp is on the front and back of the folio.

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The Golden Speech has enjoyed a very long life, and the variations in the printings made during the seventeenth century reveal several patterns. First, the amount of time and attention spent on a printed work seems to be greater at the beginning of the century and/or if the printer included information about himself. Similarly, the changes in format reflect a printer's desire to save money; the smaller quartos with the clasps are more costly than the single-sheet broadside and folio. Again, this indicates that less money was spent on printing[23] later in the century. A preface and choice of illustration often times reveal a printer's agenda and context. And though there are

[23] Perhaps the frugality was on reprints, as the Golden Speech was a reprinted edition each time.

a dozen versions[24] of the Golden Speech printed after 1679, I chose to explore the variations of this speech in its printed infancy, for what it reveals about seventeenth century print culture: a printer's freedom or lack thereof, his relationship to readers and to the monarch, his capability with changing print technology, and most important to me, how he perpetuated Elizabeth's legacy.

[24] It is included in *Historical collections, or, An exact account of the proceedings of the four last parliaments of Q. Elizabeth of famous memory* of 1680, credited perhaps erroneously to Hayward Townshend. Besides the manuscript version of Townshend's at the British Library, Leah Marcus notes an edition from 1682 by Sir Simon D'Ewes (*Elizabeth I; Collected Works* 336). Several databases list numerous versions from the 1690s with printing information: "London: Printed and are to be sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster." Two versions were printed for John Bowles in 1740 and 1745, and one for Richard Offrey in 1749. The Golden Speech was included in a Harleian Miscellany in 1808. And then from 1970s on, there are many in anthologies of Queen Elizabeth's works.

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